1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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to the reader, but every article fits into an elaborate ideological system which finds its expression in myth and folklore. The white man is Yiritja, therefore all of his culture is Yiritja; so that if a tin can is thrown away at a mission station the native who captures this valued prize knows that it is Yiritja and has a convenient and workable category in which to place it. The white man is Yiritja because the Malay trader before him was Yiritja, and Malay and white man, to the native, are obviously alike.

The moiety division is a most fundamental category in the native mind. It divides the mother's people from the father's. Ego's mother's brother, his mother, and his wife are in the opposite moiety to him, for the descent is patrilineal, while his own father and father's sister are in his own moiety. Below will be found a list of the relatives who belong to each moiety.[14] We shall place ego in the Dua moiety in order to orientate the relatives to him.

Dua	Yiritja
marikmo (father's father and father's father's sister)	nati (mother's father)
bapa (father)	momo (father's mother)
mokul bapa (father's sister)	gawel (mother's brother)
wawa (older brother) (ego)	arndi (mother)
yukiyuko (younger brother)	galle (mother's brother's daughter [ego's wife] and mother's brother's son)
yeppa (sister)	
gatu (son and daughter)	waku (sister's son and daughter, and father's father's sister's son and daughter)
maraitcha (son's son and son's daughter)	
mari (mother's mother's brother and mother's mother)	dué (father's sister's son and daughter)
marelker (mother's mother's brother's son)	natjiwalker (mother's mother's mother's brother's son)
mokul rumeru (mother's mother's brother's daughter) (mother-in-law)	momelker (mother's mother's mother's brother's daughter)
gurrong (father's sister's daughter's son and daughter)	dumungur (father's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter)
kutara (sister's daughter's son and daughter)	nati (mother's father)
	kaminyer (daughter's son and daughter)

Incest rules are very rigid, sexual intercourse not being allowed between members of the same moiety. The rigidity of the taboo is illus-

[14] The kinship terms which are here divided into the two moieties are fully described in the next chapter.

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trated in an autobiography collected by the writer: The narrator said laughingly that as very small children (three or four years old) the boys and girls "played house" together, and although they did not know what galle and dué (husband and wife) meant, the two sexes called each other by these terms when they were playing as though they were in the right relationship; but he added, "No Yiritja boy ever played house with a Yiritja girl and no Dua boy ever did this with a Dua girl. We always did this properly." On being asked how they, as children, knew this was the right way, he said, "That is something I always knew." Other similar occurrences related of the author's informant's and others' childhood indicate the emotional depth of the dual division in the mental make-up of these people, for it goes back of memory in the experience of the individual. Since a native's memory for the events of his early life is even better than our own, it will be seen how early the discipline of the dual division makes itself felt.

The great ceremonies also help to keep the things of the universe in their correct categories and to establish their correct relationships to each other, since at least once each year they dramatize the mythologies. Most of the great ceremonies belong to the Dua moiety—the Ul-mark, Djung-guan, Gun-a-bi-bi, and Marn-di-el-la—while the Nar-ra totemic ceremony is divided into two parts, one for each moiety; the first three ceremonies of the garma corroborees, which celebrate the spiritual life of the lesser totems, are Dua, because they are associated with Yur-lung-gur and Mu-it, the great snakes, which are Dua, and because they are connected with the two creator sisters who belong to this moiety. Even though the larger ceremonies are supposedly Dua in ownership, actually both groups participate, and in their structure both are given an equal rôle. The only practical difference in these dramatic rituals is that all ceremonies owned by the Dua are led by headmen of clans belonging to this moiety.

There are no headmen for moieties, although, as will be seen in the discussion of myth and ceremony, the headman of the Liaalaomir holds a place almost equaling in position that which the leader of a moiety would possess.

Intra-moiety fights are common; in fact, more common than warfare with clans of the opposing moiety. No clans would join together to fight another people simply because they belong to the same moiety; nor, were this reason advanced, would it prevent fighting within the moiety. The struggle for women among members of the

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underlies this most fundamental lateral relationship. Given the correlated basic complex of the junior levirate, by which the next eldest brother inherits a dead man's wife, it would be impossible not to have polygyny; and it is rather difficult to see how the entire system of kinship could exist without the levirate in some form. 605 595

A man always tries to obtain his actual mother's brother's daughter; if he cannot get her, he tries to marry someone as near to her in consanguinity as possible. 605 582

Usually an older male dué and male galle have an understanding that their sons and daughters shall marry. Such a betrothal could occur before the birth of either child. Sometimes a gawel will promise his wife's next daughter to his waku. Thus, even before birth there is a recognized relationship between dué and galle. 605 584

There are several degrees of marriage. As soon as a boy is circumcised and old enough to understand and remember what is told him, his galle is pointed out. At a similar age a galle mielk has her dué diramo shown to her. This is done by the male parents of both children.

The young men and women older than the two usually tease the young couple with somewhat obscene jokes about their relationship and its meaning in their physical behavior. The youngsters are usually shy and ashamed when confronted with such humor; however, as small children, when away from the elders, they play house together. They are fully aware of the sexual act and of sex differences. [831] [864] [857]

About the time facial hair appears upon a boy and the breasts of a girl swell, that is, when sexual intercourse is in their power and of interest to both, they start making love trysts in the bush. They may not copulate at first, but they simulate the act in close contact. 605 835 836

When a girl has her first menses the mother and older women put her inside a house (no special one) and leave her. She is supposed to remain in one place and move with digging sticks as crutches. This represents the myth of the two old women who made the present world, walking with the aid of digging sticks; the older of the two was menstruating. It is believed that menstruation is due to the sexual act, and that the blood is not dangerous to a woman since it comes from the abdomen and not the heart. 841

When a girl's first menses are over, her father (gawel to her dué) says to her mother (mokul to her dué), "You go make a house for them and fix a camp for them. She is big enough now" (see page 129). 583

After this, a young couple start living together and are recognized

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For a few days a mother carries her newborn child under her arm in a strip of paper bark. At this time she covers it with charcoal to make it turn black, for it is very light when born and it is thought that it will stay that color unless so painted. In a short time she holds her infant on her shoulder, its legs straddling her neck and its arms clinging to her head. She carries her children out into the bush with her while she gathers the plants, or shell food, for the family larder. When the little boy is about four years old he stays in camp with the other little ones. But the young girls continue going with their mothers, who during this early period start teaching them the countless things they must know about the fauna and flora, the land and the sea, in order to become good food-gatherers. When a boy is to be circumcised the mother always makes presents to the man who paints his body for the ceremony. When the son kills his first kangaroo or emu, the bones are painted and she carries them as she does those of a dead relative. This is to bring the son good luck in the hunt.

If the son's fathers are dead, the mother is sometimes consulted as to the proper time to circumcise him. When the boy returns from his journey to all the local clans, inviting them to come to his circumcision ceremony, it is she who brags about the number of presents given him. She always exaggerates because it is felt that this will also be helpful for the son in acquiring the good things in later life. While he is being circumcised she cries and beats herself. The actions are customary, but they are more than that to the mother, who is deeply affected when she hears her son's cries. The sisters to the mother act in the same way during this ceremony. A mother seldom corrects her child, this being left for mari and nati to do.

When a child is hurt or dead a mother always cuts and beats her head to show her grief. After the child is buried she paints herself with red ocher to cleanse herself of ceremonial impurity so that she can go out for wood and food with the other women. She waits until after burial to paint herself because the body would not decompose if she did it before. After the bones have been prepared for dispersal among the women she is one of the carriers and is usually the first to get them.

The child sees the mother's sisters as arndi not only because they are her sisters but because the father may die and the mother will be transferred to a younger brother of the father, or an older brother may die and his wives will be given to the child's father. In both cases the women would be arndi as wives to the child's father.

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561 885 591 in the boys'.—During his entire life a man has age-segregating terms applied to him.

561 A small girl is called mielk yoto (woman child, or small child). A girl with breasts and without a child is referred to as wirkul mielk (breasts woman). From first pregnancy until death a woman is called gung-mun, literally, giver.

Very old men are more or less informally given an age-grade status and grouped under the term or-ung-o, and old women are called kar-kar-ang (white hair).

The tests of a man's ordinary status are (1) his responsibility in blood feuds and (2) the possession of children. The tests of a man's ritual status are (1) the areas of the sacred grounds into which he can penetrate and (2) the parts of the graded rituals in which he can participate. Although these two categories of status do not always coincide, they usually do, for it is felt that they should. Further, the effect of the ritual taboos of the different grades decidedly alters a man's ordinary participation in the community's daily round of events.

857 857 Small children, boys and girls, accompany their mothers to the lily swamps or oyster beds. They are carried astride their mothers' necks and put their hands around the mother's forehead. (This method is used in the initiation rituals when the little boys are carried by the men, to indicate the age status of the neophytes.)

857 868 482 Little girls continue to accompany their mothers and help them at first as a part of their play. Gradually they learn their part in the woman's division of labor. The division between men and women is concretely expressed by the manner in which they carry their personal baskets. The women place the string handle of the basket over their foreheads and allow the basket to hang down their backs. The men place the string handle over their arms and wear the basket hanging from their shoulders.

857 In due time the small boys form little groups and play by themselves such games as throwing mud balls at one another, throwing slender sticks in the manner of their fathers, and they indulge in many kinds of improvised and not very formalized play.

Young boys, before and after circumcision, carry small fish spears with them, but do not use spear-throwers. They play along the water's edge with the spears, and occasionally strike a small fish, developing their throwing technique to considerable accuracy. At this period they

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make quite a point of carrying their personal baskets under their arms in the manner of mature men. 857

When large animals such as kangaroos, sea turtles, or emus are harpooned or speared and are being prepared for the stone fires by the older men, the little boys stand about and watch, edging as close as they can and being constantly warned to get back. Meanwhile they quarrel among themselves over the tidbits given them, e.g., the shells of the turtles from which they pick bits of meat.

A boy remains with his family of orientation until he is six or eight years of age, when he is circumcised, leaves his family, and goes to live with the boys of his own age and those who are older in a male group presided over by an older man (or men) who does not possess a wife. This does not mean that he is not in constant contact with the members of his own family. It is felt to be wrong, however, for the young man to live in his parents' camp after he reaches this age because he will be aware of their sexual relations and will learn ways of behavior not proper for a boy who has not taken a wife. Sexual relations between married people are carried on in the bush in the daytime and in camp at night. In camp they lie in such a position that they will not be noticed by their camp mates. "It is all right for children to watch, for they don't know what's happening, but when a boy gets older he sees, and then he says, 'That's good for me, too.' He goes and gets a young girl, maybe a galle to him, and they go into the bush." "When he stays in the big camp he sees too many women. If sometimes you see a small boy from the men's camp sit down in the camp with the women, he hasn't learned which way to behave proper." 591 834 [833]

The sister taboos are put into force at this same period and are active deterrents in keeping the boy away from his own camp, since the young girls remain with their parents until they are taken by their spouses. 591 593

The youths are supposed to eat in their (boys', unmarried men's) camp and sleep there, not going around with women. The boys' camp is the place for them to learn the proper etiquette in their conduct with men and women. A boy is not supposed to look "hard" at a woman. Whenever a man stares at a woman he is thought to have designs upon her. "If a boy looks hard at that girl she says to herself, 'What does he look at me for that way? I think he wants to play with me.' She goes and talks then and makes trouble." 591 867 561

When the younger circumcised boys are put in the unmarried men's 591

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behind us a fresh-water swamp, shaded by large trees, fringed with luxuriant grasses and intersected with a stream of clear water. The weather, too, was at its best. The mists of morning gave way to warm dry days, while the nights were chilly and refreshing. As we sat at meals we could look across the tumbling waters and watch the aboriginal children at play, shooting the breakers in their small canoes, spearing fish, or drawing pictures in the glistening sands.

The day after reaching Yirrkalla, we received a pleasant surprise in the form of a visit from the American Consul for South Australia, Mr E. Seibert, who had made the journey to see his American colleagues; the Administrator for the Northern Territory, Mr A. R. Driver; and the Director-General of Information, Mr Kevin Murphy.

The only change of staff happened at Yirrkalla. Gordon, the transport officer, returned to Adelaide because of sickness in his family. Bray became transport officer and the position as cook was filled by Reginald Hollow.

We had no sooner settled in our camp than the Northern Territory patrol launch *Kuru* visited us. With it came W. E. Harney to act as guide to the expedition. Harney's knowledge of Arnhem Land, especially of the Gulf of Carpentaria, is extensive; of the aboriginal people, deep and understanding; and of the fauna and flora, considerable. As a story-teller and singer, Harney entertained us, individually and collectively, for hours with his tales of cattle thieves, droving and journeys with the aborigines. Merely stopping to pick up Miss McArthur, Miller, Setzler, McCarthy and Harney, the *Kuru* continued her journey to Port Bradshaw, where Setzler dug out more Malay graves, Miller caught fish by line, poison and net, and McCarthy and Harney examined a small group of cave paintings at Jelangbara. Miss McArthur had asked to be allowed to establish a nutrition camp, with no other companions but her two aboriginal interpreters, a man and his wife, claiming that she could get a truer picture of the aborigines in their natural environment if she were by herself.

On the return of the party from Port Bradshaw, Setzler and McCarthy flew to Milingimbi to carry out archaeological research, whilst the remainder of the scientists concentrated on their own special interests near the base camp. During this time, the botanist, mammalogist, ornithologist, and particularly the ichthyologist added greatly to their collections. Billington and Hodges set up their nutrition laboratory in the mission hospital, a much more comfortable place for work than Umbakumba. Bassett-Smith and I photographed many aspects of aboriginal life on colour cine film. The aboriginal men also produced for me many unusual bark paintings as well as carved and painted figures.

But again sea transport troubles arose. During the period of the Yirrkalla camp I had flown into Darwin and arranged with some Chinese merchants to send their forty-ton landing barge *Triumph* to Yirrkalla, load all the gear and, with members of the party aboard, take the barge around the north coast and up the East Alligator River to our next camp at Oenpelli, a journey of about six hundred miles. Although the journey would not have been comfortable, this

* 532 171 day, in many cave paintings the motifs and styles are different from those now in use.

(iii) FIGURES CARVED IN WOOD OR MOULDED IN WAX

Although carving in the round extends far beyond Arnhem Land,[36] it appears to have reached its highest development in the north-eastern area. The aborigines in and around Yirrkalla also make excellent models in wax. The tribes of Cape York[37] are expert in the same technique.

(iv) FIGURES MOULDED OR DRAWN IN WET SEA-SAND

[857] The aboriginal children of north-eastern Arnhem Land are skilled in both drawing and moulding various creatures in the wet sand of the seashore.[38] As the children of Central Australia also draw designs on the sides of drifting sand-hills, it is almost certain that this practice has a much wider distribution than present evidence indicates.

(v) FIGURES IN BARK

The aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land make small human figures by binding the soft paper-bark together with string. Worms[39] records similar figures from north-western Australia.

I. TECHNIQUES

386 The materials used in the production of the bark and cave paintings are: (i) Colours: red, yellow, black and white ochres; (ii) fixative; (iii) brushes; (iv) flat, dried sheets of bark.

(i) COLOURS

The pigments used to paint the designs on the bark sheets, or on the cave walls, were red, yellow, black and white. Although I did not specifically ask the name of the colours at Groote Eylandt, Tindale[40] gives the names of those employed there as white, *tongura*; yellow, *otarak*; black, *udumach*; and red, *maruwuna*. The red was traded from the mainland to Groote Eylandt, the other colours being obtained locally. Rose[41] also refers to trade in red ochre with the mainland tribes. Since the war, the Groote Eylandters have learned that carbon from dry batteries discarded by the Air Force makes an excellent black. This was used extensively both on the bark paintings collected by the expedition and those described by Adam.[42]

At Yirrkalla, the aborigines used four pigments, red, white, yellow and black. The first two belong to the *dua* and the latter to the *jirritja* moiety. Red, *murungun*, and white, *kapun*, are plentiful in the cliffs at Yirrkalla. It can, however,

[616]

36. Mountford (1954), p. 87, Pl. 1. 37. McConnel (1935), Pl. 27, Fig. 1.
38. Barrett and Cudl (1913), Pl. 11, facing p. 70. 39. Worms (1942), Fig. 6.
40. Tindale (1928), p. 116. 41. Rose (1942), p. 70. 42. Adam (1951), p. 109

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

The Bush-fire and the Eucalyptus Trees of the Gainmaui Swamp, Caledon Bay

*773 *532 During creation times some men, whilst performing a ceremony at the Gainmaui swamp, south of Caledon Bay, left a camp-fire unattended. The fire spread, burning the whole countryside, including the men themselves.[97] They are now [827] white-barked eucalyptus trees, *guriri*, which, at certain times in the year, shed small flakes of bark from their trunks, exposing the whiter bark underneath.

[616] Plate 129C pictures the body painting of a *jiritja* boy of the *gumaitj mata* of Caledon Bay. The vertical cross-hatched panels on the body are three totemic eucalyptus trees at the Gainmaui swamp and the three transverse panels across the shoulders, abdomen and hips, their branches. The vertical lines of lozenge-shaped designs[98] on the body and the legs have two meanings, the bush-fire caused by the careless men, and the white patches on the trunks of the totemic eucalyptus trees.

The Geese, Wurumatji, of Duwalaila Swamp, Arnhem Bay

During creation times a flock of geese, *wurumatji*,[99] lived on the Duwalaila swamp, situated to the west of Arnhem Bay. Their food was *rakia*, the bulbs of the spike rush. One day the thunder-man, *Tjambuwal*,[1] when travelling over the Duwalaila swamp of Arnhem Bay in a storm, called out (thundered) so loudly that the geese took fright and flew westward to the swamps south of Milingimbi, where they have remained ever since.

[616] Plate 129D pictures the body painting of a *dua* boy of the *jambakbinwa mata* of western Arnhem Bay. The black squares throughout the design are the fresh-water swamps at Duwalaila, the one-time home of the *wurumatji*. The white dots within the squares are either the bulbs of *rakia* or white stones on the bottom of the swamp. The vertical bands joining the black squares indicate the paths made by the geese, *wurumatji*, as they walked from one swamp to the other in search of food, and the horizontal cross-hatched bands which link the squares, fresh-water streams flowing between the swamps. The bands across the shoulders and the hips are low ranges of hills near by. Goose tracks entering and leaving the swamp are indicated on the white bands passing over the shoulders. Cross-hatching throughout the painting is symbolical of the muddy water stirred up by the geese as they searched in the bottom of the swamp for the bulbs of the spike rush.

4. SAND FIGURES

*532 ●857 Whilst at Yirrkalla we often watched the aboriginal children moulding figures of various creatures in the sand, or scratching them on the wet surface of the

97. For more complete myth, see p. 293.
98. The same design is used on a number of bark paintings, Pl. 93D, Pl. 98B, C. It is a mere design of the *gumaitj* language group, Fig. 61N.
99. See carved object, Pl. 128E.
1. For myth of *Tjambuwal* at Arnhem Bay, see p. 289.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Muragin OII7

seashore, usually with the points of their fingers. Some of the children were particularly dexterous. Plate 91C is a sand drawing of a goanna and Pl. 91D a moulded figure of a fish.

In Central Australia, I often saw the aboriginal children drawing simple figures on the sides of the drifting sand-hills. Barrett and Croll[2] illustrate figures of dugongs, sharks, crocodiles and even a lugger in sail, which the aborigines of the Wessel Islands had scooped in the sand.

5. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND DESIGN

The social organization of the aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land dominates every aspect of their social, ceremonial, philosophical and cultural life.

Warner[3] published a list of the clans (which we now call *mala*), the high and low totems of each clan, the language groups (*mata*) and the names of the totemic waterholes. This list is by far the most valuable information we have on the subject. Warner,[4] however, although obviously puzzled about the matter, made the mistake of grouping the aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land into tribes instead of clans, failing to recognize that the clan was the most powerful unit.

Thomson,[5] when referring to the same social organization, pointed out Warner's mistake, and at the same time defined the word *malla* (my *mala*) as referring to a strong patrilineal group linked together by the same totemic ancestors. Elkin and the Berndts[6] list some of the *dua* and *jiritja* clans (*mala*) and language groups (*mata*). I also was able to obtain additional data on the subject. Nevertheless, our knowledge of the *malas* and *matas* is still very incomplete.

As my research on the art of the aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land developed, however, it became evident that the effects of this social organization was as powerful in the realms of pictorial art as it is in other aspects of their culture. I found that aborigines who had totemic ancestors in common were using designs on their bark paintings and other art objects which were unlike those employed by men of different clan affiliations. Inquiries also revealed that many, perhaps all, of these designs, the property of any particular language group or *mata*, had been handed down to them by one or another of their mythical totemic ancestors.[7]

2. Barrett and Croll (1943), Pl. 71, facing p. 76. 3. Warner (1937), pp. 39-51.

4. Warner (1937), p. 35, writes: 'The tribes of northeastern Arnhem Land . . . are very weak social units, and when measured by the ordinary definitions of what constitutes a tribe fail almost completely.'

5. Thomson (1949), p. 11. 6. Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 23.

7. For origin of designs see myths of *Ngaru-gajameri* and the *gunjun* crab design, p. 298; *Bungaitja* and the *jiritja* designs, p. 281; *burradji* the snake, and other *jiritja* designs, p. 302; *Djunkgao* and the light on the waves, the rising sun and the parallel lines of sand-hills, p. 273.

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
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primitive races. After the age of six or seven years the children very largely pass out of the direct care of their actual parents, and become part of the tribal group. Quite frequently they will spend weeks and months away with other members of the horde, but no concern is felt on their behalf. They are the children of the clan rather than of their actual parents.

At about the age of nine or ten the boys are taken away from the care of the women and the companionship of the younger children, and are prepared by the men for their initiation into the real life of the tribe. The chief feature of initiation in this area is the rite of circumcision, which is universally practised in East Arnhem Land. This actual ceremony is followed by a period of instruction, during which the boys are acquainted with their "marlk," or sub-section, their "jungoin," or totem, and the various laws and tabus designed to regulate their lives as members of the tribe.

There is in this area no initiation ceremony for girls, who, for the main part, accompany the women in their search for food, and generally become acquainted with the duties which they will be required to perform in later life.

In this district the children have nothing in the way of organised games, and for the main part find their amusement in the imitation of the doings of their elders. The boys arm themselves with the strong stalks of the long tropical grasses, and, taking sides, engage in strenuous spear fights. The girls play at cooking, the building of little humpies, and the nursing of babies represented by small bundles of paper bark. Both sexes join in elaborate mourning ceremonies over a dead bird or young animal, breaking off their wailing to indulge in hearty bursts of laughter. Life for them, during their early years, is happy, care-free, and undisciplined.

May, June and July, when the nights are cold, the natives sleep late and the camp is not active until well after daylight. As the people wake, they blow or fan the embers which have been smouldering through the night, and sit around the fire while they prepare for the day's hunting. No regular meal is eaten in the morning, but if any food remains over from the previous night they will warm this on the fire and eat it, before setting out.

About sunrise the camp is in full activity and the people now begin to move off. If each family is hunting as a separate unit the man picks up his spear-thrower and his bundle of spears—chiefly hunting weapons, with a fighting spear or two—and slings over his shoulder a small, closely-woven basket of the type called *büti mindir*. In this he carries a bundle of firesticks, and odds and ends of half-prepared string (*räkki*) in the form known as *daiyarrk* (bast fibre), together with pieces of beeswax and resin—material used for repairing spears—a knife, or scrapers of shell, a spear head or two, and generally his smoking pipe. If there is a young child, the burden of carrying it is shared by both parents. Very young babies are carried by mothers in elongated bark troughs of the same type as those used for carrying water. These are slung over the left shoulder and supported by the arm, leaving the right arm free to use the digging stick or yam stick. Frequently an older child is carried by the father astride his neck or shoulders, and from time to time the parents change over and relieve one another. Still older children follow behind, or run alongside, sharing the hunting activities of their parents and imitating them in the search for food, learning in this way the technique of hunting and gathering food which they will use throughout their lives.

Late in the afternoon, generally about sundown, the people will be seen returning to camp from the day's foraging, the women carrying baskets of food on their heads, rolls of teatree bark (*Melaleuca*) for sleeping mats or for use in cooking, and great loads of firewood. On arriving in camp they light the cooking fires and perhaps make another journey for firewood to carry them through the night, and to bring water from a nearby well or lagoon. If the food to be prepared is of a type which requires much washing during the preparation they may take it close to water to prepare, bringing it back to camp to cook.

Although men do gather some vegetable food, and women also capture small game, besides shellfish, the division of labour is sharply defined and at once evident. The woman is primarily the provider of vegetable food, collectively, *ŋäta*, the getter of wood and water, the maker of light baskets and the smaller and more finely made nets. The man is the hunter, the provider of animal food, and is responsible for the conduct of large scale drives for fish and game. The making of weapons, heavy implements, canoes, canoe paddles, heavy fish traps and baskets of coarse heavy fibre, called *koiyapoi*[10] (fish-for) or *ŋätapoi larr*, (*ŋätapoi*, food-for; *larr*, open or coarse in texture), for the carrying of heavy loads of fish and vegetable food, is also the responsibility of men.

The first impression that any stranger must receive in a fully organised group in Eastern Arnhem Land is of industry. He cannot fail to see that everybody, man or woman, works hard, and that the work is well organised and runs smoothly. And he must also be impressed by the fact that with the exception of very young children who engage earnestly in play, much of which is imitative and based on the activities of adults, there is no idleness.

[10] *-poi*, suffix "for".

10: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1958
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159 We Wangurri clans-people are a bush people (pages 16-29, 42). We are very strong and very fierce and good fighters. All the coast people are afraid of us. Our country comes to the salt water at only one place on Arnhem Bay (map, page 40). It was here that we saw the Macassar. They brought [439] us presents of rice, syrup, calico, tomahawks, dugout canoes, knives, and gin. We gave them pearl shell, pearls, tortoise shell, sandalwood, and other woods they use for medicine. We helped them gather trepang (pages 456-458).

159 273 439 579 At these times, when the Macassar prahus took down their sails and masts and their men disembarked, our old man drank plenty, for it was then they got all the gin they wanted for the presents they gave the Macassar men. There would always be big fights. In the morning you could see blood everywhere and many people were killed. While the old men fought with the knives from around their belts and with tomahawks, clubs, and spears, we children used to sneak in and eat the food that they had left. We always waited our chance and rushed in and ran away again.

159 431 609 I can remember one day my father's giving me some tortoise shell and saying, "Mahkarolla, you go and give this to that Macassar man and make friends with him so that when he comes again he will know you, and you will know him, and you will have a feeling of friendship for each other." I did. The Macassar man talked to me but I didn't understand him. I forget the rest.

159 574 Another thing I remember when I was very small: I went with my father through the Gwiyamil clan country to the Wulkara people for a corroboree. This is the path our ranga took in the stories we know about him, and those people are also Sand Fly people (pages 33-35), just as we Wangurri are.

159 857 Before we were circumcised we little boys played spear-fighting games, talked about sneaking up and killing a man, and we threw clay mud balls at each other. When it was hot in the rainy season we swam in the sea (pages 125-128).

Later we played being grown men and women with the little girls. We made little fires in the sand beaches. We went out just like our fathers and pretended to spear fish, and the little girls went into the bush and brought home bush food (vegetable food). We made little bark huts just like our fathers' and mothers'. The girls would come in and lie beside us as our wives and we were their husbands.

When we were little boys, others boys who were a little bit bigger joked us about the wives we were going to marry. This made me feel very ashamed. Little girls joked the same way. They also became ashamed. When we got bigger we weren't ashamed any more. We were glad.

159 867 I think I always knew it was wrong to "play with" a girl of the Yiritcha

10: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1958
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159 when we grew larger we did find out and some of us became sweethearts.
864 Even today these old sweethearts still get food from us and we get food and presents from them (pages 74-92).

159 When I was a little bit bigger, after I was circumcised, we little boys
857 always made fish spears and we always carried them with us. We hunted
868 birds and fish with them. Sometimes we hit a bird, and often we caught small fish. We learned then to carry our baskets over our shoulders, under our arms, just like grown men do, just as our sisters learned to carry their baskets over their foreheads.

159 When a boy gets a little bit large and he has been circumcised, he sleeps
591 with other boys and the unmarried men and he stays away from his father's and mother's camp most of the time. It is no good for young people around where married people are. They learn too much. They see women too much. Sometimes you see these boys sitting down in a camp with the women. They are not learning the way to live properly. It is all right when they play around in their own camp and they eat there and sleep there (page 127).

MAHKAROLLA'S CIRCUMCISION

159 One day I went with an older brother down through the Barlamomo
852 country to Blue Mud Bay to invite them all to come up to my country for my circumcision (pages 259-290).

When I came back from the Blue Mud Bay country many of our relatives came with me. They brought many presents. My father took me and gave me to a man who painted me very pretty with many colors. I was afraid but I tried not to show it. I looked like I did not care what happened. I was a little bit pleased, too. I was afraid because I did not understand what was going to happen to me. I did not know it then, but my father had given that man a present to paint the picture of my totem well on my breast and belly, and also to put some of my totems (symbols) on me to get me ready (page 262).

When the old men painted me for my circumcision ceremony they put kangaroo teeth stuck in beeswax on a string and tied it around my forehead. The teeth hung on my forehead over my nose.

When some of the old men were away I asked some of the little boys what they were going to do, and one of them said he thought they were going to cut me. I was very frightened. My father had taken me a little way away from the main camp where the women stay and had brought me part way to the sacred camp of the python, where only men can go. This also frightened me.

When I heard the little boys say the old men were going to cut me I sneaked away from the little boys' camp and ran to my mother. It was

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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842 [833] it is an invitation to the new spirit to come to the mother from the spirit world. Ideas on the birth question are very vague and the time factor is ignored. Wogburra, who had been taught to read and write and had lived amongst white folk for twenty years, told me that his wife was about to give birth to a child, and gossip named Miniji as the father. He intended to spear Miniji. I asked when his wife had last seen Miniji, and he was certain that it had been two years previously, when Miniji left for his tribal country.

849 142 Babies are smoky pink in colour at birth, and mothers smear them with a mixture of ashes and water to hasten the darkening of the skin. From birth the child lies in the sun,

854 [853] and as soon as it can clutch a chunk of red meat it is allowed to suck it. A mother carries her infant under her arm on a thick roll of soft bark, but the child soon learns to sit on her shoulder; it clutches her hair for support and sleeps through

142 a great part of the day. Most babies are curly headed, fat, strong, and contented, but as soon as they start eating bush food they develop distended stomachs and become thin and prone to disease.

855 [595] In the better type of family the utmost affection is shown by all wives toward the children of the husband's other wives, and it is sometimes difficult to say which is the mother.

[853] She does not always suckle it herself, nor does the infant object to a variation. If a mother dies, the care of her children is assured, and I have seen only two children that could be called waifs or strays.

[861] Children are pampered unbelievably and are rarely punished. The most a mother will do when her patience is exhausted is to shake it by the shoulder, shout at it and threaten it with a ghost or a white man. Imitating their

●857 elders, the youngsters learn their lessons and make fun for themselves in the hard days of childhood, though their games seem to foreshadow the strenuous adult life ahead of them. Girls play at gathering food, making huts and weaving dilly-bags,

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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and boys shape spears and learn to throw them. In a mock fight the bodies are carried off to the accompaniment of shouting and wailing and are buried with only the nostrils showing above the sand. Children also have a game of wife-stealing, in which the boys chase the girls as they pretend to dig for yams. If the day is hot, sticks are thrown into the water, and with cries of 'Fish, fish!' small children spear them and throw them on the sand. For turtle feasts, the turtles are made from sand and bark, and their tracks in the sand are really well formed by hand. String games and cat's-cradle are popular with the girls; they twist the string on their fingers, and sometimes use their feet as well, to make birds' claws, turtle, dogs, cats, the sun, moon and stars, and representations of scores of activities in ordinary life and from myths and legends.

One of their happiest pastimes is singing and chanting about one another. A small girl, Junebia, had short flat feet, so her friends chanted interminably: 'Stumpy, stumpy; turtle feet, turtle feet; stumpy turtle feet.' A boy with long thin legs was greeted with: 'Snaky legs, snaky legs; snaky legs that wriggle as you run.' Another lad, with a habit of looking quickly from side to side, was subjected to the ditty: 'Willy wagtail, willy wagtail; you're a willy wagtail.' Every child seems to have a peculiarity worthy of a chant, and it is surprising that no one objects to the game or shows annoyance when laughed at in this way.